

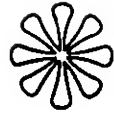
IV. C. 1.

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

U. S. PROGRAMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM,  
NOV 1963 - APR 1965

NSAM 273 - NSAM 288

# 284



# UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS

## 1945 - 1967

IV.C.1.

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U. S. PROGRAMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM,  
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NSAM 273 - NSAM 288

## IV.C.1.

FOOTNOTES

1. White House Statement to the Press, 2 October 1963
2. National Security Action Memorandum 273, 26 November 1963 (TS)
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Secretary Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the President, "Report of the McNamara-Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 2 October 1963 (TS)
7. Ibid.
8. Chairman, JCS Maxwell Taylor Letter to President Ngo Dinh Diem, 30 September 1963
9. Ibid.
10. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara Testimony Regarding the Situation in South Vietnam Before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (Executive Session), not subsequently published, 8 October 1963 (S)
11. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara Testimony on Authorization Bill for Fiscal 1965 Before the House Committee on Armed Services (Executive Session), 27 and 29 January 1964 (S)
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), p. 502
15. "Critical Analysis of Halberstan Article," in Secretary of Defense Briefing Book, 16 (?) August 1963 (S)
16. "History of War In Vietnam, 1961-63," in Secretary of Defense Briefing Book (September 1963)
17. Ibid.
18. "Second Informal Appreciation of the Strategic Hamlet Program," 1 September 1963 (S)

19. McNamara-Taylor Trip Report, op. cit.
20. "Summary of Special Meeting on the Republic of Vietnam, CINCPAC Headquarters," 20 November 1963 (TS)
21. Secretary of Defense Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Meeting with Ambassador Lodge," 23 November 1963 (TS)
22. Draft Memorandum to the President on Status of Actions Under NSAM-273, attached to memorandum from Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State, to Secretary of State, Director CIA, and Secretary of Defense, and Administrator AID; to serve as a basis of discussion at a meeting at 3:00 p.m., 6 December 1963 (TS)
23. Embassy Saigon message 1122, to Secretary of State, 7 December 1963 (S-LBDIS)
24. Assistant Secretary of Defense/ISA Memorandum to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Situation in Vietnam," No. I-29135/63, 17 December 1963, signed by Admiral Slouin (S)
25. Back-Up Book for Secretary of Defense Saigon Trip, 18-20 December 1963 (TS)
26. OSD message DEF-949322 to CINCPAC, 21 December 1963 (TS)
27. Secretary of Defense Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Trip to South Vietnam," 21 December 1963 (TS)
28. Remarks of the Secretary of Defense at the White House, 21 December 1963
29. CIA Director John McCone Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 23 December 1963 (TS)
30. CIA Director John McCone Letter to the Secretary of Defense, 7 January 1964 (TS)
31. CIA Director John McCone Letter to the Secretary of Defense, 9 January 1964 (TS)
32. Secretary of Defense Letter to CIA Director John McCone, 16 January 1964 (TS)
33. William E. Colby, Deputy Director/Plans, CIA Memorandum for Secretary of Defense, et.al., Subject: "Initial Report of CAS Group Findings in South Vietnam," 10 February 1964 (S)

34. MACV message 665, to Taylor, 21 February 1964 (TS)
35. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara Testimony Before the House Armed Services Committee (Executive Session), 27 January 1964
36. Embassy Saigon message 1345, 20 January 1964, 8:00 p.m. (C)
37. Embassy Saigon message 1408, 23 January 1964 (U)
38. CAS Saigon message, 28 January 1964 (no message number available)
39. Embassy Saigon message 1431, 29 January 1964, 8:00 p.m. (TS-NODIS)
40. Embassy Saigon message 1445, 30 January 1964, 3:15 a.m. (TS); see also messages 1408, 1431, and 1432, op. cit.
41. Embassy Saigon message 1456, 1 February 1964 (S)
42. Embassy Saigon Airgram 455, 2 February 1964 (S)
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Embassy Saigon message 1523, 9 February 1964 (S)
47. Walter Elder, Executive Assistant to Director CIA Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Appraisal of the Conduct of the War in Vietnam," 10 February 1964 (S); de Silva/Kirkpatrick evaluation attached.
48. Ibid.
49. SNIE 50-64, "Short-Term Prospects in Southeast Asia," 12 February 1964 (TS)
50. Assistant Secretary of State/Far East, Roger Hilsman Memorandum for the Secretary of State, 14 March 1964 (TS)
51. Chairman, JCS Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, JCSM-146-64, 18 February 1964 (TS-SENSITIVE)
52. JCS, SACSA Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Appraisal of the Situation in SVN," 3 March 1964, in Secretary of Defense Tri-Book (TS)
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.

55. Joint State/Defense message, State's 1307 to Embassy Saigon, 25 February 1964, 8:35 p.m. (S)
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Embassy Saigon message 1744, 13 March 1964 (S)
59. NSAM 273, op. cit.
60. National Security Action Memorandum 288, 17 March 1964 (TS)
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. White House Statement to the Press, 17 March 1964
66. State Department message 1462 to Saigon and Others, 18 March 1964 (TS-LIMDIS)
67. Chairman, JCS Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, JCS4-222-64, 14 March 1964 (TS)
68. State Department message 1490 to Saigon, 20 March 1964 (S)
69. Embassy Saigon message 1880, 1 April 1964 (S)
70. These and other data concerning the progress or lack thereof on the NSAM-288 measures during this period are taken from compilations included in "Mid-May Saigon Briefing Book."
71. Embassy Saigon message 2091, 30 April 1964 (S)
72. Mid-May Saigon Briefing Book, op. cit.
73. Embassy Saigon messages 1889, 2 April 1964; 1899, 3 April 1964; 2089, 30 April 1964; and 2112, 4 May 1964
74. Mid-May Saigon Briefing Book, op. cit.
75. Joint State-Defense-AID message 1505, 23 May 1964
76. JCS message to MACV 6073, 29 April 1964

77. MACV msg to JCS DIG 070725 May 64
78. Mid-May Saigon briefing book, op. cit.
79. Ibid.
80. Saigon Mid-May briefing book; Report of General Earle G. Wheeler, Chief of Staff, USA on visit to the Republic of Vietnam representing the SecDef and the JCS, 15-20 April 1964 (TS).
81. W. P. Bundy, Memo for the Record, Subject: "Discussion of Possible Extended Action in Relation to Vietnam," 27 April 1964 (TS).
82. Mid-May Saigon briefing book.
83. Embassy Saigon msg 2108, 4 May 1964 (TS).
84. Department of State msg 1838, from the Secretary 5 May 1964, Flash (TS); Embassy Saigon msg 2108, 4 May 1964 (TS).
85. See the Task Force Paper IV.C.5. "Evolution of the War, Military Pressures Against North Vietnam: Action and Debate, February to June 1964," (TS/Sensitive).
86. OSD msg Def 966914 4 May 1964 (S).
87. Mid-May Saigon briefing book.
88. Memo for the Record, Subject: "U.S. Embassy Briefing, Saigon 12 May 1964," by LCol [Sidney B.] Berry, [Jr.] USA (S).
89. Memo for the Record, Subject: "SecDef-COMUSMACV Meeting, 1430-1745, 12 May 1964," by Col. Charles Mount, USA (S).
90. Memo for the Record, Subject: "SecDef-COMUSMACV Conference, 0900-1300, 13 May 1964," by Col. Charles Mount, USA (S).
91. Ibid.
92. Second SecDef-MACV Conference Report, MAC J01-3849, 14 May 1964 (TS).
93. Memo for the Record, Subject: "SecDef Decisions, Saigon, 13 May 1964," by Sidney B. Berry, Jr., LCol, USA (S).
94. Embassy Saigon msg 2203, 14 May 1964 (S).
95. State Department msg 2037, 26 May 1964 (TS-NODIS).
96. State Department msg 2095, 27 May 1964, 6:14 p.m. (TS).

97. Backup book for Honolulu Conference on 30 May 1964 (TS).
98. JCS msg 2625-64, Taylor to Felt and Harkins, 28 May 1964 (TS).
99. Backup book for Honolulu Conference on 30 May 1964 (TS).
100. "Proposed Actions in Political Problem Areas in Vietnam," in Briefing Book for Honolulu Conference, 30 May 1964 (TS).
101. Department of State msg 2184, 5 June 1964 (S).
102. McGeorge Bundy Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of State, 15 June 1964, with six enclosures (TS).
103. Ibid, enclosure 1.
104. Ibid, enclosure 2.
105. Embassy Saigon msg DTG 071010ZJul64 (C); unnumbered Embassy Saigon msg, 8 July 1964, SEA Cable Files - June-July 1964.
106. State Department msg 108, for the Ambassador from the President, 10 July 1964, 8:20 p.m. (S).
107. Embassy Saigon msgs 109 and 108, 15 July 1964 (S).
108. See Task Force Paper IV.C. pp. 32-33.
109. CIA Saigon msg 35014, 24 July 1964 (S).
110. Embassy Saigon msg 203, 24 July 1964 (S).
111. Embassy Saigon msgs 215, 24 July 1964 (TS); and 232, 27 July 1964 (TS).
112. Embassy Saigon msg 213, 25 July 1964 (TS).
113. Embassy Saigon msg 377, to State for the President, DTG 101407ZAug64 (S EXDIS).
114. COMUSMACV msg to DIA 8542, DTG 221105ZAug64 (S).
115. Shaplen, Robert, The Lost Revolution, (New York, 1965), pp. 268-270.
116. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 268-270.
117. Saigon msg 393, 120735ZAug64 (S).
118. Shaplen, op.cit., p. 271.
119. State Department msg 439, 14 Aug 1964 (TS).
120. Embassy Saigon msg 465, 18 Aug 1964 (TS).

121. State Department msg 481, 20 Aug 1964, 4:02 p.m. (S).
122. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 271-272.
123. Ibid., pp. 272-275.
124. Ibid., pp. 275-278.
125. IV.C. p. 41.
126. Shaplen, op.cit.
127. Embassy Saigon msg 768, 6 Sep 1964 (TS-NODIS).
128. Memo from AASD/ISA Peter Solbert to SecDef I-13, 343/62; Subject: "RAND Study on South Vietnam".
129. NSAM 314, 10 Sep 1964 (TS).
130. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 286-289.
131. Embassy Saigon msg 1035, 6 Oct 1964 (TS-EXDIS).
132. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 291-292.
133. COMUSMACV Memorandum for Ambassador Taylor; Subject: "Assessment of the Military Situation," 24 Nov 1964, MACV J01 (S).
134. Secretary of Defense Memorandum to the Chairman, JCS, 13 Jan 1965  
ASD/ISA Memorandum to the Secretary of Defense, 11 Jan 1965;  
JCSM 1047-64, 17 Dec 1964 (S).
135. JCS 2343/499, 3 Dec 1964 (TS); "Note by the Secretary of the JCS on Ambassador Taylor's Visit, Enclosing Draft Instructions, etc."
136. Shaplen, op.cit., pp. 290-296.
137. DJS-744-65, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 26 June 1965 (S).
138. Saigon msg of 7 Mar 1965, "Ambassador Taylor's Analysis of the Overall Situation in Vietnam", included in General Johnson's "Report on Survey of the Military Situation in Vietnam", Tab A. (S).
139. Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, CJCS, CNO, CS/USAF, Commandant, USMC from General H. K. Johnson, CS/USA; "Report on Survey of the Military Situation in Vietnam," 14 Mar 1965 (S).
140. HQUSMACV, Monthly Evaluation Report, March 1965 (S).
141. Deptel 2065 Immediate to Saigon, 24 Mar 1965 (S/LIMDIS).

142. Ibid. Although this message predates the Taylor memo of 31 March, it is believed to be, if not identical, substantially the same, because the available copy of it indicates that extra copies for information were sent out to other officials as late as 14 April.
143. Unsigned White House memo - Subject: "Key Elements for Discussion Thursday, April 1 at 5:30 p.m.", April 1, 1965 (TS). Probably prepared by McGeorge Bundy.
144. NSAM 328, 6 April 1965 (TS).
145. Memorandum for the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor, 2 April 1965, from the Director of CIA, John A. McCone.
146. Embassy Saigon msg 3359 to SecState for the President priority 13 Apr 1965 (TS-NODIS).
147. Deptel 2332, 15 Apr 1965, 3:46 p.m., (TS-NODIS).
148. Joint State-Defense msg 009164, DTG 152339Z April 65 (TS-LINDIS).
149. Department of the Army msg to COMUSMACV (info for Embassy Saigon), DTG 161459Z Apr 65 (TS).
150. Embassy Saigon msg 3419, Ambassador Taylor to McGeorge Bundy, 17 April 1965 (TS-NODIS).
151. Embassy Saigon msg 3421 to State for McGeorge Bundy, 17 Apr 1965 (TS-NODIS).
152. Embassy Saigon msg 3423 to SecState (in two sections) 17 Apr 1965 immediate (TS-EXDIS).
153. Embassy Saigon msg 3432, 17 Apr 1965 (TS).